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ABSTRACT

This examination of black students' perceptions of Jesse Jackson and his campaign for the presidency found student perceptions to be increasingly favorable throughout the 1984 campaign. Three independent samples of undergraduate students in 22 speech classes at a predominantly black university were drawn before, during, and immediately after the November general election. Self-administered questionnaires recorded student assessments of Jackson, his campaigning organization, the breadth of his appeal, and his treatment in the press. Credibility was measured as an additive index composed of assessments of honesty, intelligence, experience, articulateness, and knowledge of foreign affairs. Primary factors examined as sources of variance in perceptions were newspaper reading, television viewing, interest in politics, involvement in the Jackson campaign, sex, and grade level. Involvement in the campaign was the most important contribution to variance in all three sample periods. Media use is seen to influence perceptions primarily through its influence on interest and participation, although television news viewing maintained an independent path to credibility in the pre- and mid-primary samples. (LH)

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AFTER THE RAINBOW FADES: BLACK STUDENTS AND THE JESSE JACKSON CAMPAIGN

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Introduction

Just as we learn more about the operation of the regulatory institutions of any society when we observe them in times of crisis and upheaval, we learn more about the role of the press on those occasions when it is forced by circumstances to depart from the routine. Similarly, we learn more about the power of the media as agents of social control by examining their success in moving peripheral groups into the ideological mainstream, than by arguing about how media reinforce dominant perspectives in the average citizen. The campaign of the Reverend Jesse Jackson for the presidency of the United States provides an unusual opportunity to study both the media and their relations with special populations.

The Jackson campaign clearly represented an occasion when the press was forced to depart from its traditional routines for the coverage of political candidates. While Jesse Jackson was a genuine competitor for the nomination of the Democratic party, he was given no chance of being elected president, and because of this widely shared view, he was treated differently by the press (Broh, 1985). At the same time, black Americans

responded to the Jackson campaign in almost spiritual terms, registering and voting for him in primary elections in record numbers (Smith & McCormick, 1985). By examining the response of black college students to this historic event, this paper hopes to provide some insights into the relationship between media use, interest and involvement in politics and the development of perspectives about candidates and their campaigns.

Background

Media and Political Perspectives

The literature in mass communications is fairly consistent in concluding that mass media play an important role in providing information relevant to voting decisions (Becker, McCombs & McLeod, 1975; Graber, 1980; Roberts and Bachen, 1981). There is considerable uncertainty, however, about the relative importance of print versus electronic media in the generation of knowledge and opinions about candidates. While television is increasingly identified as the prefered information source for much of the electorate, the nature of the medium appears to limit coverage to only the most superficial of presentations. Rather than focusing on the more complex issues of the campaigns and the candidates' arguments for supporting one side or the other, television news traditionally limits its coverage to the nature of the "contest" and those aspects of a candidate's image which are believed to be ultimately determinant of the vote. While this tendency is not strictly limited to television news, dependence upon stereotypes familiar to the audience is more severe here than with print media (Graber, 1980, p. 174).

Some argue that it is not the medium so much as the preparation and

motivation of the potential voters which determine how much information is gleaned from each medium. Petty (1983) suggests that political interest, rather than reliance upon a particular medium, is the most important determinant of political knowledge. Highly interested television reliant respondents were more knowledgeable than less interested newspaper reliant respondents, and there were no significant differences between newspaper and television reliant groups at the same level of political interest. On the other hand, McLeod, Glynn and McDonald (1983) found that television reliant voters used different infomation in arriving at their voting choices. That is, the television reliant were found to make greater use of candidate image characteristics than the newspaper reliant. They found no support, however, for the hypothesis that candidates' stands on issues would be more important for the newspaper reliant voter. They conclude that "the causal mechanism of reliance may lie not in the content of the medium but rather in the characteristics of the persons who rely most on that medium" (p.56).

Further differences within and between media may be associated with the interaction between audience motivation and the characteristics of the medium. Garramone (1985) suggests that individuals have different motivations for using mass media, and those motivations apply to the use of political information as well as for other media content. Whether political content is selected to serve vote guidance or diversionary needs will be reflected in the choice of different formats. The information value of television news will vary depending upon whether the item is a live coverage of a debate, a structured "news report," or the opinion of a comentator. Garramone also suggests that the origination of the content,

reflecting differential control by the source, will also influence the expected information, versus entertainment content of the item. Messages controlled by the candidates are seen to be more dominanted by substantive content, while content controlled by the journalist is likely to focus on the "game" of the political contest. Thus, she argues that persons more motivated toward surveillance and vote guidance will select media content on the basis of its format. Political interest and perceived importance of the election are also identified as key factors associated with one's willingness to do the work necessary to gather useful political information from the mass media.

Other factors involved in the differential influence of print and electronic media include consideration of the time in the life of the campaign. It is suggested by Williams, Shapiro and Cutbirth (1982) that newspapers may be more important in establishing public agendas in the early stages of the campaign, while the importance of television increases in the later stages. On the other hand, other researchers (Lemert, Elliot, Nestvold & Rarick, 1983) suggest that the viewing of presidential primary debates can provide knowledge of candidates' issues as well as stimulating early interest in the campaign as a whole.

Thus, we see that the importance of media in the generation of knowledge and opinions about political candidates is determined by a complex of factors including characteristics of the medium, the campaign, and most importantly, the media audience itself. In addition to information about audience interest and motivation, the literature suggests the importance of considering the age, sex, education and degree of involvement in political affairs as factors upon which political knowledge

is contingent (Roberts & Bachen, 1981; Williams, Shapiro & Cutbirth, 1982; Tan, 1980). However, very few studies have focused on the race or the ethnicity of the audience for political information.

Race as an Intervening Variable

Fife (1981) describes the paucity of research in the field of mass communications which took the communication behavior of blacks and other minorities as its principal focus. What work we have suggests that there are important differences between blacks and other media users which is reflected in greater black reliance on television for a great variety of information and entertainment needs. Because of this differential reliance on a medium characterized as being a "deterrent to learning" (Graber, 1980, pp. 142-144), we should expect to find blacks generally less well informed about public affairs than other groups less dependent upon television (Gandy and El Waylly, in press). At the same time, Latimer (1983) cautions us to distinguish between blacks in the media audience and blacks who actually vote. While blacks may be characteristically more reliant upon television, her research suggests that those blacks who actually vote in the general elections are equally likely to rely on newspapers for vote guidance.

Perhaps, a more important factor associated with the race of consumers of political information is the nature of the conceptual schemas governing information processing which have been developed through common subcultural experience (Graber, 1984). St George and Robinson-Weber (1983) suggest that blacks have had a historic mistrust of the white press. They explain that viewing television for political

information is more important as a determinant of black political participation because black viewers have a greater sense of trust in the medium which, in the major markets, brings them black reporters and news anchors.

Socially generated schemas may also play an important role in determining which aspects of media presentations are ignored or rejected by readers or viewers. Just as beliefs about the office of the Presidency served to delay public acceptance of the reality of Watergate, culturally determined beliefs about black preachers with strong civil rights records, are likely to be quite resistant to modification by the news media.

The Press and the Jackson Campaign

Jesse Jackson announced his candidacy quite late in 1983, following the recognition of the nation's black leadership that no other potential black candidate shared Jackson's visibility and popularity. Early analyses of the campaign (Cavanaugh & Foster, 1984) suggested that few observers thought that Jackson had any chance of winning even the vice-presidential nomination. But, like the largely "symbolic" campaign of Eugene McCarthy in 1968, Jackson's campaign sought to influence the ideological content of the Democratic party platform, and to halt the party's drift away from its traditional liberal-progressive agenda (Smith & McCormick, 1985).

Because Jackson was a "special" kind of presidential candidate, one who was not truly part of the "race" for the presidency, the press was forced to either ignore Jackson, or treat him as a separate, almost unrelated story (Broh, 1985). Several studies have examined media treatment of the Jackson campaign. Dates and Gandy (in press) examined

differences between print media with different ideological traditions. Merritt (1984) examined Jackson's visual image in the televised debates, and Broh (1985) offered a comprehensive analysis of television campaign news between November, 1983 and July, 1984. Each of these studies agrees that the special treatment accorded the Jackson candidacy was part of a "self-fulfilling prophesy that guaranteed the United States was not ready to elect a black man as president in 1984" (Broh, 1985, p.41).

Key to Broh's analysis was his identification of the variety of "roles" or frames which the reporters selected to represent the candidates for the Democratic nomination. Of particular importance are the "personal roles"--aspects of background, personality and character which are central to the image of the candidate. Fully 20 percent of the roles assigned to Jackson in television news items were identified as personal roles. None of the other Democratic contenders had more than four percent of their roles classified as personal. Specific stories characterized Jackson as being flamboyant and entertaining, criticised his foreign policy initiatives as opportunistic, and following the "Hymie" incident, where the Washington Post reported on Jackson's private reference to New York City and its Jewish residents, Jackson was portrayed as being insensitive toward other ethnic groups. In addition, Jackson's poor handling of this incident allowed the press to raise further questions about his character, especially his judgement and integrity. In Broh's view, "virtually every personal role of Jesse Jackson after the early background reports displayed the personal characteristics of [a] person who was not a desirable Democratic party candidate for president."

Yet, despite his treatment by the media, Jesse Jackson was

enormously popular with blacks. In the first southern primary in Alabama, Jackson won 50 percent of the black vote, and thereafter, he steadily increased his share of the black vote, averaging more than 78 percent in the 12 major races that followed (Cavanaugh & Foster, 1984), and overall, capturing close to 85 percent of all black votes cast in the primaries (Smith & McCormick, 1985).

What role then did the media play as a factor in the black response to Jackson's candidcy? In an earlier analysis (Gandy & Coleman, in press), we concluded that the power of the Washington Post to set the agenda of black college students was quite weak, and declined markedly as the campaign wore on. In the analysis that follows, we will explore the relationships between media use, interest in politics and involvement in the Jackson campaign as a complex of factors influencing the response of black students to this historic campaign.

Methodology

Instrumentation

A self-administered questionnaire was developed to gather information about the background characteristics, media usage, political interest, involvement in the Jackson campaign, and perceptions of the Jackson candidacy. Media usage, interest in politics, and involvement in the Jackson campaign were measured on four point scales which ranged from none (1) to heavy (4). Perceptions of the Jackson candidacy were assessed through indications of agreement with fifteen assertions about Jackson, his campaign, his appeal, and his treatment by the press.

Responses ranged along a five point scale from agree very strongly (1) to disagree very strongly (5). Statements about candidate character, competence and style were most frequently presented in a comparative form ("Jesse Jackson is the most honest candidate"). Statements about Jackson's positions on particular campaign issues were most frequently presented in simple declarative form ("Jesse Jackson supports tax and regulatory relief for business").

The Sample

Three sets of virtually identical questionnaires were administered to independent samples of undergrade students at Howard University, a traditionally and predominantly black university in Washington, DC. During the first and second weeks of February, 1984, questionnaires were distributed in 22 speech classes. The survey was identified as being part of a larger project studying the Jackson campaign. Students were free to retain the questionnaire if they did not wish to participate, and there was no individually identifiable information gathered on the questionnaire. Three hundred and sixteen completed questionnaires were returned in this initial sample, representing approximately 66 percent of the students officially enrolled in these classes. While race was not indicated on the questionnaire, discussion with instructors administering the instrument indicated that no more than one percent of the questionnaires were completed by white students.

During the first and second weeks of April, 1984, surveys were again distributed through speech instructors to the same undergraduate classes. However, because this part of the semester was devoted to oral

presentations, several instructors neglected to administer the questionnaire and only 211 completed forms were received. During the week immediately following the general election in November, a third survey of black undergraduates was completed which produced 255 completed questionnaires.

There were no significant differences in the relevant background characteristics of the three independent samples. That is, the proportion of women, or average grade level of the respondents was not significantly different between the three samples. There were, however, some important differences in reported media use. Newspaper reliance increased significantly between the second and third samples, and a barely significant increase was noted with regard to television reliance. There was also significant fluctuation in the rather small proportion of the samples identifying The New York Times as their daily newspaper (ranging from three to nine percent).

There were also important changes in measures related to political interest and participation. The proportion of respondents claiming to be registered increased from 56 to 71 percent. Those reporting involvement in the Jackson campaign also increased significantly between the second and third sample periods. This increased involvement was not accompanied by any greater interest in politics. However, there were many striking changes in student perceptions of the candidate and his campaign which we will discuss in the section that follows.

Findings

After the Rainbow Fades...

Changes in Student Perceptions

Table One presents the means and standard deviations for student responses to assertions about Jackson's character, the nature of his appeal, his campaign organization, his ideological orientation, and his treatment by the press. Nine of the fifteen assertions are characterized as having been reassessed by the students throughout the life of the campaign. In nearly all cases, changes in perceptions have been positive. As time wore on, students were more willing to characterize Jackson as honest, well organized, intelligent, independent, articulate, and knowledgeable about foreign affairs.

Table One

It is important to note that despite the clear evidence provided in the press that Jackson did not win the broad base of support from his "rainbow coalition," black students tended not to accept the assertion that Jackson's appeal was limited to blacks, and this view did not change significantly over the life of the campaign.

The most dramatic change in the students' perceptions of the Jackson campaign was in their impression of the mass media and their treatment of Jackson. Early in the campaign, students tended to reject the assertion that "Jackson was treated fairly by the press," and this orientation changed markedly by early April following press handling of the "Hymie" incident. This rejection of the press remained strong even after the general election.

Understanding Black Student Perceptions

In order to identify those factors which might best explain the variance in student perceptions both between students and at different points in the campaign, both correlation and regression approaches were pursued. For those respondents that had missing data for one or more variables used in this analysis, we assigned the value of the mean or median for the particular sample. Responses to assertions were recoded so that students that agreed with positive assertions would receive higher scores on those variables. Table Two presents the correlations between measures of involvement, political interest, newspaper and television reliance, sex and grade and their perceptions of the Jackson campaign at the pre-primary, mid-primary and post-election stages.

Table Two

We see that newspaper reliance is largely unrelated to any perceptions of the Jackson campaign. In the early and late periods of the campaign, newspaper reliance appears to be associated with knowing that Jackson took a progressive stance regarding women's rights. The stronger correlation in the post-election period may reflect newspaper coverage of Jackson's comments regarding the choice of a female running mate. Although they are not statistically significant, changes in the signs of the coefficients for the relationship between newspaper reliance and

perception of fair coverage indicates a reversal. While in the early stages of the campaign, greater reliance on newspapers was associated with denial of fair treatment, that relationship was reversed by the end of the campaign.

As the literature suggests, reliance on television news is more important in relation to the formation of black political perceptions, although this relationship appeared to change over the life of the campaign. Early in the campaign, television news viewing was related to perceptions of Jackson's honesty, intelligence, experience and foreign affairs knowledge, and was also associated with awareness of Jackson's progressive orientation toward women. During the primary season, television newsviewing was related even more strongly to perceptions of Jackson as honest and knowledgeable about foreign affairs. In the post-election period, television news viewing was related only to impressions of Jackson's independence.

Interest in politics and involvement in the Jackson campaign were of considerably greater importance in the development of student perceptions. Involvement in the campaign was the most important correlate of knowledge about Jackson's position regarding women, while interest in politics was the only consistent predictor of the correct assessment of Jackson's position regarding tax concessions to business.

Because the tendency to criticise the press was so widespread among the respondents, it is important to note that degree of involvement in the campaign remained an important discriminating factor into the mid-primary period. In the post-election period, only grade in school appeared to be related to an evaluation of the press, and the older students

seemed more willing to see Jackson's treatment as fair

In order to assess the relationship between media use and perceptions of the Jackson campaign when we control for the influence of interest, involvement and other factors known to be related to these perceptions, we utilized least-squares multiple regression to estimate the relative importance (standardized Beta) and contribution to explained variance (change in R-squared) of these predictors. Table Three presents regression estimates for predictors of perceived credibility of Jesse Jackson. Credibility is measured as an additive index (Alpha=.718) composed of assertions about honesty, intelligence, experience, speaking ability, and knowledge of foreign affairs.

Table Three

After Involvement, which is the most important predictor in all three periods, Knowledge, a measure of awareness of Jackson's position on two campaign issues (the environment and business concessions), is the next most important factor. The signs of the coefficients for Knowledge should be interpreted to mean that people who reject the assertions that Jackson is pro-business and anti-environment also believe Jackson to be highly credible. Television news viewing appears to make an independent contribution to positive impressions of Jackson in both the pre-primary and mid-primary periods. We should note that newspaper reading during the primary season appears to have the opposite influence. With other

factors held constant, the more these students relied on newspapers, the less they thought of Jackson as presidential material. In the post-election period, only two variables make any noteworthy contribution to variance in perceived credibility. Where being female (dummy coded, female=1) was associated with lower evaluations of Jackson in the mid-primary period, it was positively ssociated following the election.

In general, students tended to hold on the the belief that there was indeed a Rainbow Coalition and that Jackson's appeal was not limited to blacks (Table One). Table Four reports an attempt to determine which factors might best explain what little variation there was in that view.

Table Four

Prior to the actual experience of the primaries, only involvement in the Jackson campaign bore any meaningful relationship to this view. However, once the results of the early primaries were in, six variables emerged as useful predictors. Being female was the most important (Beta=.242) factor. After the election, only gender and involvement in the campaign added to our ability to differentiate between those having a perspective on the breadth of Jackson's appeal.

Tables Five through Nine represent attempts to further identify the role of media by determining where, among all the factors involved in the generation of perceptions, their influence was the greatest. Because the three samples were drawn independently, lagged coefficients which would

allow for a more confident conclusion about the recursive nature of the relationships, could not be estimated. Thus we see, for example in Table Five that reliance on television news is a secondary, but important factor predicting involvement in the Jackson campaign. However, if we examine the coefficients in Table Nine, we see that the relative importance of campaign involvement as a predictor of television reliance is nearly the same, which suggests a reciprocal relationship between viewing and involvement in the campaign.

Tables Five through Nine

Newspaper reliance is important primarily as a factor supporting or derived from interest in politics. In Table Six, newspaper reading is a primary predictor of political interest in all three periods. But, if we examine the coefficients in Table Eight, interest in politics is relatively more important as a predictor of newspaper reliance. We should note here that television viewing and newspaper reading appear to have a reciprocal relationship which is most in evidence during the mid-primary peiod. The correlation between these two activities is higher during this period than at any other time, and it is relatively undisturbed by controlling for interest, involvement and other related measures.

Summary

In summarizing the analysis to this point, we are able to say the

following things. Over the life of the campaign, black students' impressions of Jesse Jackson and his campaign grew increasingly favorable. In general, reliance on the mass media was only marginally related to these impressions, and, where they were related at all, they were associated with positive impressions. The most important source of impressions about the Jackson campaign, both impressions about Jackson's personal qualities, as well as awareness of his positions on campaign issues, was involvement in the Jackson campaign. To the extent that the mass media had any influence at all on the perceptions of black students, it was through the media's ability to reinforce their impression that this campaign, as symbolic as it might have been, was important. The high salience of the campaign maintained by the press helped to elevate their interest in politics and their involvement in the Jackson campaign.

Discussion

Several design factors limit our ability to make strong statements about the causal relations between media use and perceptions of the Jackson campaign. The strongest of these is the use of independent samples rather than a repeated mesures panel design. Despite this limitation, several strong impressions remain. The mass media were essentially powerless to overcome a strong belief in the inherent goodness of Jesse Jackson, and the righteousness of his mission. Black students were, like followers of a messianic movement, undisturbed by the facts as they were presented to them in the media. Logical conclusions about the nature of Jackson's appeal which should have been drawn from detailed

newspaper accounts of primary races and television exit poll data, were universally denied. It would have been informative to ask these students what proportion of whites or hispanics voted for Jackson. We have little doubt that those who would offer an estimate, would greatly exceed the reported figures.

This study lends support to what has been traditionally believed about black reliance on television. The strongest and most consistent correlations between perceptions and media use are those related to television newsviewing. Here again, it would have been important to specify further just what kind of newsviewing was being reported. The correlations suggest a high degree of selectivity on the part of these students. It may be that these viewers paid the greatest attention to the live coverage of the debates, or to Jackson's statements in response to reporter's questions, rather than to the comments of reporters and analysts which tended to be more negative and critical. Thus, when black students saw Jesse Jackson in action, he was clearly more intelligent, honest, articulate and knowledgeable than he would appear to be if they had relied solely on the reporter's impressions. Newspapers on the other hand (Table Three) provided little opportunity for access to the candidate in an uncontrolled context. Thus, those who depended upon newspapers for their impressions of Jackson during the primary season would be likely to come away considerably less impressed with the candidate.

More micro level studies of the sort reported by Graber (1985) would be useful in helping us to determine the extent to which long standing patterns, rather than transient movement-like orientations govern the processing of mass media information about political figures. We might

begin profitably with an analysis of black and white responses to press coverage of the struggle in Southern Africa, and the associated protests and policy initiatives in the United States. There are clear parallels between this growing issue and the movement to elect Jesse Jackson. There is continual press coverge and there is considerable public participation. Unlike a electoral campaign however, there are no key political figures. Instead, there are broad positions and some fairly specific policy options.

Longitudinal panel designs would allow us to more confidently assess the relationship between media use, involvement, and knowledge of and preference for particular policy options. Such a study should gather as much detail as is practical about the kinds of informational inputs being used in the selection of these options. As with the Jackson campaign, black people would be expected to have a fairly well-developed perspective on apartheid, which would no doubt influence their attention to and utilization of mass media information.

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Table One

Student Perceptions of the Jackson Campaign
(Means and Standard Deviation)

	Pre-Primary	Mid-Primary	Post-Election	F
Assertions				
Black Appeal	3.24 (1.33)	3.20 (1.33)	3.08 (1.42)	0.999
Honest	2.33 (0.97)	2.22 (0.94)	1.87 (0.96)	16.858***
Personal Gain	3.66 (1.31)	3.82 (1.24)	3.89 (1.35)	2.53
Organized	2.50 (1.03)	2.30 (0.95)	2.23 (1.04)	5.433**
Intelligent	2.62 (0.99)	2.25 (0.94)	2.22 (1.16)	12.806***
Grassroots Base	2.33 (1.03)	2.14 (0.95)	2.18 (1.09)	2.535
Experienced	3.80 (1.04)	3.50 (1.04)	3.75 (1.02)	5.659**
Feminist	2.32 (0.87)	2.31 (0.88)	2.41 (0.93)	1.055
Environmentalist	2.93 ((0.91)	2.87 (0.87)	3.11 (0.93)	4.34*
Independent	2.29 (1.01)	2.05 (0.93	1.98 (0.98)	7.826***
Pro-Business	3.12 (0.89)	3.10 (0.83)	3.05 (1.01)	0.431
Pro-Communist	3.31 (0.99)	3.35 (0.93)	3.41 (0.99)	0.767
Articulate	1.95 (0.99)	1.88 (1.02)	1.69 (1.00)	4.870**
Fair Press	3.49 (1.25)	4.22 (1.06)	4.21 (1.09)	37.110***
Knowledgeable-Foreign	1.88	1.85	1.65	5.43**

*= p≤.05; **=p≤.01; ***=p≤.001

Table Two

Correlates of Perceptions of the Jackson Campaign by Sample
(Pearson's r, decimals dropped)*

Correlates:	Involved			Interested			Newsreader			TVnews			Female			Grade		
Samples:	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
Perceptions																		
Black	17	11	03	09	07	06	07	11	-02	03	09	05	-06	20	11	07	00	01
Honest	22	19	26	12	09	06	00	-03	-02	13	15	00	-02	-09	04	-02	07	05
Personal Gain	07	11	09	07	14	03	-06	06	-02	03	07	00	03	04	-06	-06	-10	06
Well-Organized	19	19	10	00	-04	-01	03	02	-05	07	11	-09	02	-02	10	00	04	02
Intelligent	20	23	21	14	10	06	02	07	-02	17	11	04	02	-06	04	-01	10	05
Grassroots Support	10	02	03	13	09	02	-01	02	12	00	09	02	-05	-10	03	05	06	06
Experienced	13	13	12	06	02	-01	01	00	-02	12	12	-04	05	03	09	-02	03	-01
Feminist	24	17	21	20	09	25	12	05	22	19	11	10	-02	-07	-16	-03	-03	13
Environmentalist	19	00	-01	17	10	14	02	-03	14	-01	-07	03	-07	-11	-13	01	14	04
Independent	07	05	00	-01	06	01	01	03	-09	05	08	14	06	-07	04	-06	-03	00
Pro-Business	13	07	00	22	18	18	10	05	10	-08	04	03	-20	-15	-13	04	14	02
Pro-Communist	14	01	-02	07	14	02	04	01	03	02	10	05	03	07	01	03	02	-04
Articulate	26	09	17	14	-08	04	13	-01	01	05	00	-04	00	-11	03	00	03	04
Fair Press	-19	-17	-07	-14	-02	-02	-06	-08	10	-03	-03	-03	-05	00	-05	00	-10	15
Foreign Knowledge	18	16	09	09	20	10	-07	02	-08	17	18	05	00	-07	15	-10	17	-03

1= Pre Primary; 2= Mid-Primary; 3= Post-Election

* 1 (N=316, r$\geq$.11, p$\leq$.05); 2 (N=211, r$\geq$.14, p$\leq$.05); 3 (N=255, r$\geq$.13, p$\leq$.05)

Table Three

Factors Explaining Variance in Perceived Credibility*
(Standardized Betas and Change in R-Squared)

Predictors	Pre-Primary	Mid-Primary	Post-Election
Involvement	.280(.088)	.236(.053)	.260(.065)
Interest	.103(.007)		
Intention	.082(.006)		
Knowledge	-.138(.012)	-.213(.028)	
Newsreading		-.116(.006)	
TVNews	.108(.017)	.107(.010)	
Grade		.130(.020)	
Female		-.140(.014)	.098(.011)
R-Squared	.131	.131	.076

* Variables contributing less than .005 not included in regression

Table Four

Factors Explaining Variance in Perception of Jackson's Appeal
(Standardized Betas and Change in R-Squared)

Predictors	Pre-Primary	Mid-Primary	Post-Primary
Female		.242(.042)	.098(.011)
Newsreading		.152(.023)	
Registered		.179(.019)	
Credible		.146(.017)	
Knowledge		.090(.008)	
Intention		-.095(.006)	
Involved	.142(.030)		.261(.065)
R-Squared	.030	.115	.076

Table Five

Factors Explaining Variance in Involvement in the Jackson Campaign
(Standardized Betas and Change in R-Squared)

Predictors	Pre-Primary	Mid-Primary	Post-Election
Interest	.213(.092)	.259(.106)	.186(.049)
Registered	.096(.009)		.120(.008)
Intention		.079(.009)	
Knowledge	.166(.018)		
Newsreading		.094(.006)	.136(.014)
TVnews	.141(.022)	.181(.034)	
Female	.077(.005)	.142(.018)	
Grade			
R-Squared	.146	.173	.071

Table Six

Factors Explaining Variance in Interest in Politics
(Standardized Betas and Change in R-Squared)

Predictors	Pre-Primary	Mid-Primary	Post-Primary
Involved	.194(.092)	.242(.106)	.156(.022)
Registered	.070(.006)		
Knowledge	.180(.032)	.147(.027)	.145(.023)
Newsreading	.201(.060)	.178(.061)	.195(.108)
TVnews	.156(.024)	.150(.018)	.248(.063)
Female	-.118(.011)	-.112(.011)	-.084(.007)
R-Squared	.225	.223	.223

Table Seven

Factors Explaining Knowledge of Jackson's Campaign Orientation
(Standardized Betas and Change in R-Squared)

Predictors	Pre-Primary	Mid-Primary	Post-Election
Interest	.204(.061)	.174(.032)	.175(.040)
Involved	.172(.018)		
TVnews	-.133(.017)	-.086(.008)	
Female	-.134(.016)	-.140(.014)	-.119(.016)
Grade		.157(.032)	
Registered			.058(.006)
R-Squared	.112	.086	.062

Table Eight

Factors Explaining Variance in Newsreading

(Standardized Betas and Changes in R-Squared)

Predictors	Pre-Primary	Mid-Primary	Post-Election
Interest	.227(.085)	.180(.045)	.201(.108)
Female	-.147(.020)	-.154(.022)	-.206(.043)
Grade	.080(.008)		.075(.005)
Involved	.082(.007)	.089(.006)	.118(.012)
TVnews	.071(.005)	.282(.139)	.160(.023)
R-Squared	.125	.212	.191

Table Nine

Factors Explaining Variance in Television News Viewing
(Standardized Betas and Change in R-Squared)

Predictors	Pre-Primary	Mid-Primary	Post-Election
Interest	.183(.048)	.153(.016)	.277(.105)
Involved	.151(.018)	.173(.039)	
Knowledge	-.138(.018)		
Newsreading		.285(.139)	.173(.022)
Intention		-.119(.009)	
R-Squared	.084	.203	.127